R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 013 129 RC 000 569

PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES IN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN AREAS WITH LARGE MINORITY GROUPS.

BY- KNOWLTON, CLARK S.

PUB DATE 17 APR 64

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.25 HC-$0.84 21P.

DESCRIPTORS- ACCULTURATION, *CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT, CULTURAL BACKGROUND, CULTURAL PLURALISM, GOVERNMENT ROLE, LANGUAGE HANDICAPS, MINORITY GROUPS, PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION, PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT, PROGRAM PLANNING, *RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES, REGIONAL PROGRAMS, *SPANISH CULTURE, *SPANISH AMERICANS, SOCIOCULTURAL PATTERNS, VALUES, INTERCULTURAL PROGRAMS, SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

DATA FOR THIS PAPER, PRESENTED AT THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY AT ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA ON APRIL 17, 1964, WERE DERIVED FROM THE AUTHOR'S RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AMONG THE SPANISH SPEAKING PEOPLE OF NORTHERN NEW MEXICO AND FROM HIS PARTICIPATION IN COUNTY AND REGIONAL PLANNING ORGANIZATIONS. THE GEOGRAPHIC REGION OF NORTHERN NEW MEXICO IS A SOUTHERN EXTENSION OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS DESCRIBED AS A WOODED UPLAND PENINSULA RISING ABOVE THE GENERAL SEMI-DESERT. THE HISTORY OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN CULTURE OF THIS REGION DESCRIBES A PATRON-PEON SYSTEM, COMMUNAL LAND GRANTS, AND ISOLATED, SELF-SUFFICIENT SOCIAL VILLAGES. MAJOR OBSTACLES TO EFFECTIVE PLANNING INCLUDE (1) STEREOTYPED ATTITUDES, (2) LANGUAGE BARRIER, (3) FAILURE TO CONTACT THE REAL SPANISH AMERICAN LEADERS, (4) FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE THE NATURE OF THE VILLAGE ECONOMY, AND (5) FAILURE TO DEVELOP PROGRAMS SPECIFIC TO THE AREA AND NEEDS. FOURTEEN SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR RESEARCH ARE OFFERED. (SF)

ED013129

THE CENTER FOR CULTURAL STUDIES
Adams State College of Colorado
Alamosa

Problems and Difficulties in Planning And Development in Areas With Large Minority Groups

Dr. Clark S. Knowlton
Department of Sociology
Texas Western College

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

Twenty-seventh Annual Conference of the
Southern Sociological Society
Asheville, North Carolina
April 17, 1964

RC 000 569

Dr. Clark S. Knowlton
Texas Western College

In this paper some of the problems and difficulties inherent in planning and in the implementation of government and private agency programs in northern New Mexico will be discussed. Data for this study are derived from the author's research activities among the Spanish-speaking people of northern New Mexico and from his participation in county and regional planning organizations. As an academic sociologist teaching in one of the universities in the area, he became quite interested in the Spanish-speaking inhabitants. Much to his astonishment and consternation he was impelled into the role of a regional planner. He became chairman of the San Miguel County Area Redevelopment Committee and chairman of the Association for the Economic and Social Development of northern New Mexico. Four years later, somewhat battered, he sought refuge in another academic ivory tower to lick his wounds and to reflect upon the meaning of his experiences.

Northern New Mexico is inhabited by a Spanish-speaking minority group whose culture and basic core values differ sharply from that of the dominant English-speaking majority of the state. It should be realized, however, that the population dominance of the English-speaking people is quite recent. It was not until World War II brought about a massive immigration of English-speaking people into New Mexico, that the Spanish-speaking group became a numerical minority. In New Mexico, the English-speaking collectivity is referred to as Anglos and the Spanish-speaking element as Spanish-Americans.

Like the American Indians, the Spanish-Americans were conquered in war and forced to become citizens of the United States against their will. Like the Indians, their personal and property rights were guaranteed to them by a treaty that was broken as soon as it was signed. Like the Indians, they were treated as a conquered people to be civilized. Unlike the Indians, they have

at no time enjoyed even the minimal and ambiguous protection offered the Indians by a government bureau and by interested private organizations. Unfortunately, they have not yet been able to develop an effective defense organization through which they could defend their rights and speak to the American government and to the American public.

The organization of this paper is as follows. First the natural environment will be outlined. Then will follow a brief discussion of the major characteristics of the Spanish-American culture that are important to an understanding of the people of the area. This will be followed by an analysis of the basic reasons for the prolonged failure of Federal and private programs in northern New Mexico. And finally some recommendations will be made for those engaged in planning in this and in similar areas.

Northern New Mexico is defined as that part of the state lying roughly north of Highway 66 that, entering the state from Texas, runs from Tucumcari to Albuquerque and then to Gallup. Although this region does not include all of the Spanish-American inhabitants of New Mexico, it is the area in which they still compose the majority of inhabitants. A distinctive cultural entity, it has shown an amazing ability to persevere in spite of severe unfavorable economic and social changes.

The major geographical section of northern New Mexico is made up of the southern extension of the Rocky Mountains. Van Dresser has aptly called it, "An island or peninsula of wooded and forested uplands country rising above the general semi-desert of sagebrush and drought resistant grasses... rarely sinking as low as 6,000 feet and touching 13,000 feet at its highest elevation."[1] The Rio Grande River dissects this island into two major mountain masses; the Sangre de Cristo mountains on the east and the San Juan and Jemez mountains to the west.

The upthrust of this great land mass into the higher and cooler atmosphere has created a climatic zone markedly different from that of most of New Mexico.

It is land of true winter seasons, low winter temperatures ranging well below zero, cool summers, short growing seasons, and long lasting snow packs. Annual precipitation averages around 20 to 30 inches as contrasted to around 10 inches for the rest of New Mexico.

In topographical terms, this region is one of high relief. It is broken horizontally by upheaved mountain masses and by the characteristic mesa forms resulting from the erosion of ancient sea bottoms. It is dissected vertically by numerous canyons and steep valleys with many streams flowing from the mountains. Virtually all of New Mexico and West Texas is dependent upon the stream flow from these mountains.[2]

This mountainous zone, heavily forested and with abundant wild life, is inhabited by the Spanish Americans. Descendents of early colonizers who moved into New Mexico in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, they form a compact rural grouping in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico with ribbons of settlements running along the major rivers flowing from the northern New Mexican mountains. In culture, racial composition, and language, they differ sharply from all other Spanish-speaking groups in the United States. It should be emphasized that they are not Mexicans. Their ancestors came into this area long before any substantial number of Mexican migrants moved northward. Living in complete isolation for several hundred years, they gradually evolved a distinctive rural culture drawing upon both Spanish and Indian elements.[3]

The Spanish Americans dwell in farm villages. These villages centered in the valley bottoms and along rivers and streams wherever plots of land available for irrigated agriculture could be found. The average villager owns one or more non-contiguous strips of irrigated farming land on which he grows such subsistence crops as wheat, corn, beans, and chili. If range is available, he may also own a herd of cattle or sheep. The villagers are actually more a settled pastoral people than farmers. They have been reduced to dependency upon their irrigated land, as they have lost their range land. They are a pastoral

people without a range. The average subsistence farm is seldom over 15 acres.

The village developed out of customary land settlement patterns brought into the area by the early Spanish settlers. All land theoretically was owned by the Spanish Crown and grants were made to individuals and to villages by the Crown either directly or through its territorial representatives. There were three basic types of land grants that were made in northern New Mexico. Of these the most important was the community grant.[4]

A group of settlers moving into an unsettled area petitioned the Spanish authorities for a communal land grant. The grant was usually granted with very indefinite boundaries upon condition that a village site was laid out with a central plaza and a church. Each villager received a house lot and a section of irrigated land. Dams and ditches were established through communal labor and owned jointly by the village inhabitants. All members of the village has the right to graze livestock and cut timber on the village commons.

The second type of land settlement was the proprietary grant. This was a land grant that was given to a prominent individual who promised to secure settlers, establish a village, build a church, and find a priest. The grantee became the village patron. This type of grant was often made to develop a fortified village in an area exposed to Indian attacks. In time it usually became indistinguishable from a communal land grant.

The third type of land grant was the sitio. It was a large land grant given to a prominent individual for a ranch. The landholder usually settled his peons around his ranch house. This type of land grant was far more important in eastern and southern New Mexico than it was in northern New Mexico. As, according to Spanish-American tradition, each heir had the right to an equal inheritance in the father's estate, many of these grants in time also came to be village grants.[5]

A fourth type of land settlement was far more informal. Groups of villagers moving from overcrowded villages into unoccupied areas laid out a village with

or without the plaza but always with a church site, built dams, dug canals, distributed irrigation land, and grazed their livestock upon the surrounding range. This was a valid form of land settlement recognized as such by tradition and custom.

Spanish-American land holding practices were based upon land use, not upon absolute individual ownership. Land was regarded as belonging to the man or village that first used it. If the land was abandoned, it could then be used by the next group that came along. Written documents and carefully recorded legal titles were virtually unknown. There was also no land tax under Spanish and Mexican rule. Tax was paid not upon the land, but upon what the land produced each year. The coming of American control with its emphasis upon individual land ownership, its dislike of communal property, its land taxes and county system, inmeshed the Spanish American in a legal and political system that has stripped him of most of his land.

Each village, until recently, was a small isolated self-sufficient autonomous social cell. Isolated by Indian raids and poor means of transportation and communication, each village was forced to rely upon its own economic and cultural resources. The economic basis was subsistence agriculture. All needed tools and artifacts were produced in the village. What trade existed was on a barter basis.

Several hundred years of cultural and physical isolation turned each village into a socio-psychological unit. Even today the inhabitants of each village feel themselves to be somewhat different from the inhabitants of every other village. It is still difficult to persuade members of different villages to cooperate together for common ends. As Burma has stated: "It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of the home village to the Spanish Americans."[6] The village composed of related extended patriarchal families met almost all of the physical, psychological, and social needs of the villagers. The past reluctance of villagers to leave their village, even at a considerable economic

loss to themselves has been notorious.

As the Spanish Americans were and are as a people quite peaceful, and as there were few modern arms until very recently in the average village, blood feuds between villages did not exist. Conflicts over land and water rights were usually settled by the leaders of the village. When faced with a conflict involving groups, the Spanish American tendency is to withdraw, whenever possible, from all contacts with the offending group. This is especially true with conflicts that may involve the Anglos.

The village was divided into patriarchal extended families. Each extended family frequently occupies a specific quarter of the village. The head of the family was the grandfather. His married sons usually lived close by. The entire family cooperated in working the land. Upon the death of the grandfather, the oldest living male then usually became head of the family. There were entire villages in northern New Mexico inhabited by related families bearing the same surname. The wife was subordinant to the husband in all things, and the children owed respect and obedience to their parents as long as the parents were alive. Until within the last two generations, parents selected the mates of their children. In these villages, there was very little crime, juvenile delinquency, or illigitimacy. Mutual aid and cooperation bound the different extended families into a close village unit.

The leader of the village was the village patron. He generally was wealthier, better educated, more enterprising, and more respected by the villagers than other partiarchs in the village. He had developed a village wide reputation for wisdom, knowledge, and for living up to village mores. He generally, but not always, represented the largest family group in the village.

As village patron he was expected to help other villagers find employment and land. If they needed economic assistance, he was expected to help them. He settled village disputes, and his decisions were final. He aided the sick, the

widowed, and the orphaned. He helped those who might get into trouble with Anglo authorities. He financed or took charge of the financing of village fiestas. He directed communal labor on the village church, school, dams, and ditches. He represented the village in its relationships with the outside world and usually would determine the way that the village vote would be cast.

He did not possess absolute authority, nor was he ever a village dictator. He had to act within the accepted values of the patron pattern. His decisions had to rest upon village mores. His personality must exemplify village ideals. He could never interfere, unless requested to do so, within the affairs of an extended family. If he violated public opinion, then inevitably he would be challenged in time by another man. Upon his death, his position did not necessarily go to his son. The village inhabitants over long periods of time observed the behavior of village men and public opinion usually decided who would be the village patron.[7]

In villages where there was a village priest, he was accepted as a spiritual patron with jurisdiction over religious, spiritual, and moral matters. If the secular patron was weak, he might become the village patron. If the priest were weak, he became a dependent upon the secular patron. At times, serious conflicts were waged between the two men. As most villages lacked priests, the religious functions of the folk Catholicism of the villagers were carried out by the Penitente order, a grossly misunderstood organization in New Mexican history. In many villages, the patron was an official in the Penitentes.

Thus the Spanish American social organization was structured upon the interlocking institutions and patterns of the self sufficient farm village, the extended patriarchal family, the patron system, and the Roman Catholic Church. As long as these institutions functioned, the village was and in some cases is still quite resistent to acculturation and to the dominant Anglo society. Where they have started to break down, as they have in most Spanish-American areas, the villages have entered into an era of out migration, of factionalism, of juvenile

delinquency, family breakdown, and of dependence upon welfare.

In general, the Spanish-American village culture functioned fairly well until the 1930's. Then it collapsed under the weight of the depression. The major reason for its breakdown was the tremendous and constant loss of land. Since 1854 the Spanish Americans have lost over 2,000,000 acres of private landholdings, 1,700,000 acres of communal village land, 1,800,000 acres taken over by the state, and even more vast areas lost to the Federal government. As Spanish-American landholding and land tenure customs were never recognized by the American courts, the villages were stripped of their land. At present most of the range is gone. The villagers have endeavored to retain at whatever cost their strips of irrigated land, but these too have been lost in many areas.[8]

As population increased in the villages and because of loss of land, thousands of Spanish Americans entered the migrant labor stream in the late 1890's and 1900's. This stream dried up during the depression, and population piled up in the villages. Actual malnutrition and hunger is reported to have existed.

World War II with its massive draft of young men and the movement of many families to defense centers, exposed thousands to the economic potentialities of the outside world. A massive migration began. These families, unprepared for the problems of urban life poured into the cities of the Southwest and the Pacific Coast. For the most part, it has meant the transference of a problem from one area to another. This migration movement has been encouraged by many Anglo ranchers desiring Spanish-American lands, and by some government agencies hoping for the disappearance of a problem. Those who remain in the villages are often victims of apathy, cultural shock, and bitterness.

This migration is most noticeable in the northeastern plain counties where the Spanish American population is being replaced by Texan owned ranches. Entire villages have disappeared within the larger ranches. Migration, while substantial in the mountain counties, has not yet resulted in large displacements of the inhabitants.

The net result of the social and economic changes of the past thirty years has been the creation of a distressed area. Living conditions in northern New Mexico are to be compared with those of many Latin American countries rather than with other sections of the United States. The per capita income in 1961 for the majority of the Spanish American counties ranged from $662 to a little under $900. The per capita income for the entire state in that year was $1,846. In many predominantly English speaking counties, the per capita income ranged up above $2,000. The percentage of the labor force that is unemployed ranged from a high of 21.7 per cent to around 10 percent. The state average was 5.9 percent. The percentage of the total working force earning under $3,000 a year in 1960 ranged from 45.4 percent in the lowest county to 68.9 percent in the highest county. The ratio of non-workers to workers for the state in 1960 was 1.9. For the Spanish American counties it ranged from 2.74 to 5.05 persons. Welfare burdens are extremely high. Around 17 percent of the entire population in these northern counties receives welfare benefits.[9]

These conditions have been noted repeatedly in one government study after another since the 1930's. Millions of dollars have been poured into the Spanish-American area by the various interested Fereral agencies. Except for temporary increases in consumption standards and in personal indebtedness, these programs have had little success. The reasons for their failures have never been thoroughly explored. Large expenditures are still being made by these same agencies with the same lack of success. There is a persistent rigidity in planning and in institutionalized values that have doomed one program after another.[10]

The basic causes of the failure of so many government and private programs that have had reasonable success elsewhere can be traced to the following three major groupings of factors: (1) Culture conflicts, (2) The rigidity and lack of flexibility of government and private programs, and finally (3) the failure to develop programs that meet the needs of the Spanish Americans as defined by

themselves.

The Spanish Americans in northern New Mexico range from those who have little understanding of the values and concepts of Anglo-America to those who are thoroughly acculturated. The majority of the inhabitants fall into a continuum somewhere between these two poles. The English-speaking Americans both in government service and in private industry operate on the principle that there are no basic cultural differences between the Spanish Americans and themselves. They are often bewildered and frustrated by Spanish American behavior that does not seem to meet their expectations. The Spanish Americans in turn are often bewildered, frightened, and baffled at the behavior of Anglo-Americans. There is a cultural gap of misunderstanding that has never been bridged nor even acknowledged. In New Mexico it is not considered good manners to mention these cultural differences.

The result is that the first serious obstacle to planning in New Mexico is the stereotyped attitudes that each group has toward the other. The Spanish Americans are incredibly suspicious of any Anglo American working among them. The coming of the Anglo has meant land loss, taxes, and similar unpleasant events. The average Spanish American has seen many Anglos come and go without any appreciable improvement in his situation. He is resentful, bitter, and hostile to the Anglo world and its representatives.

The second major cultural obstacle is the language barrier. Many English speaking Americans resent the fact that American citizens persist in speaking Spanish. This is regarded as equivalent to disloyalty. Spanish Americans have often been fired for speaking Spanish in the office or in the factory. Very little attempt is made to cross the linguistic barriers. Government programs tend to be written in English. Government agents touring the villages explain the programs in English. To the villagers this is interpreted as a deliberate insult. They feel that as they were there first, the Anglo should make the effort to learn their language. Furthermore, many programs have failed, in the

experience of the writer, because adequate interpreters were not provided. A government representative who can speak Spanish, however poorly, can at least engage in a dialogue with the people.

Still another cultural stumbling block is the basic failure of government and private agencies to really speak to the Spanish Americans. They tend to talk above them. Groups of English speaking Americans, educated in colleges and universities and often with considerable experience in their agencies, tend to discuss programs from a rational point of view. If a plan can be drawn up that rationally fits the factors involved, then it should work. One but needs to sell it to the natives. Unfortunately, the natives may well have their own ideas about their problems. These ideas are sometimes different from the ideas of the planners. The planners and the Spanish Americans are seldom able to meet on a common level. There is often a mental blockage involved here and the failure of a planner to believe that the poor semi-literate non-English-speaking villagers may well have definite ideas about their problems and may well have thought out solutions to these problems that may have some value.

Still another serious barrier to successful planning is the failure on the part of agency and bureau directors to contact the real leaders of the Spanish American villages. They tend to assume that the richest, the most successful, the best educated, and the most literate in English is the leader. They also assume that the acculturated Spanish American who works for a government or private company must be a leader. They almost universally fail to realize that these men, precisely because they are quite different from the mass of villagers, can never be leaders. As they fail to work with the real leaders, the leaders frequently become their opponents without the Anglo directors realizing what has happened. Many programs have been sabotaged because of the inability to locate real village leaders and to work through them.

The Anglo planner is an impatient man. He wants definite decisions and definite committments. He wants public meetings with democratic discussion

leading to a vote in which the majority will decide. He is baffled when he finds that the Spanish American does not accept this process. The Spanish American is not sure of the value of public meetings. He prefers a series of private conversations with his close friends and relatives. He does not want to antagonize people by openly attacking their views or ideas. He believes more in the slow process of coming to a consensus in which all people accept the basic proposals. He wants time to think about it. He hates to make desicions. He is personal, informal, and avoids the direct approach wherever possible.

If a village is factionalized, the planner then faces the aching problem of not becoming identified with a specific faction. He often becomes involved without being aware of it. Quite often village factions seek to utilize the planner and his agency to advance their own dreams of village control. They are friendly. They listen. They praise. They accept. The planner leaves the village guite buoyant. He is unaware of those who did not come to see him. He fails to note the half open doors, the spying eyes, the concealed frowns of the other faction who then set out to sabotage his program.

Another value conflict is the failure on the part of government administrators to realize the nature of the Spanish-American village economy. They presume that the Spanish Americans are commercial farmers producing for the market and interested in increasing production by scientific measures. This is not true. The Spanish American farmer is a subsistence farmer on his small farm. He could not produce much for any market, if he desired to. He farms to feed his family. Programs and techniques that increase the production of crops on commercial farms and are feasible where the farmer has matching capital can not work in northern New Mexico.

Many government planners are unable to accept this. They advocate removing the Spanish Americans from their small farms and aiding them to migrate to the city. No one asks the basic question. What are they to migrate to? What are they to do in a city where unskilled workers with values and behavior patterns

that are antithetical to the industrial environment they have difficulty in securing employment.

A related problem is that many government programs operate on the principle of cash grants for definite purposes. Others provide cash benefits subsequent to future repayments. The Spanish American receiving the cash balances his need for the specific program for which he received the money against his other needs. If he considers that they are more important, he may spend the money received to satisfy these other needs. He is rather disturbed and confused at the angry accusations of the English-speaking American field worker. He also finds it extremely hard to think about tomorrow. He is more concerned with today. His time conception is different from that of the dominant society. He does not plan for tomorrow's activity. The result is that the Spanish Americans are often regarded as untrustworthy and dishonest.

Now let us come to those problems created by the structure of government and private agencies themselves. Most agencies active in northern New Mexico have developed a philosophy of operation, a set of rationalized values to defend their existence. Each agency tends to have a different set of values. It has proven almost impossible in northern New Mexico to obtain a harmonious cooperative relationship between the different agencies. On any interagency agency, there is a conflict of clashing philosophies and a subtle struggle for dominance.

This power struggle reaches down to the field workers in the northern counties. As a chairman of an A.R.A. committee, the writer was forced to engage in a subterranean warfare with the agricultural extension service committed to the R.A.D. program. In some sections, the entire county was factionalized by the infighting between the sixteen or more agencies in the area.

Related to this is the fact that lines of authority and communication run downward, not upward. Reports of field workers are written to please the higher echelons and often bear little relationship to reality. Many field workers, especially among the Spanish Americans, are completely aware, and will so confess

in moments of informal and somewhat liquid communication, that the programs that they are called upon to administer are unworkable in the light of local conditions. Nonetheless, they continue to urge the adoption of these programs by the local people. They have of necessity so identified themselves with the institutional structure of their bureau that they persist in defending unworkable programs.

Even more serious is the stark fact that most of the programs being pushed in northern New Mexico were developed nationally or in other segments of the specific regional jurisdiction of the agency. They may well have worked in the South, in the Midwest, or in the Great Plains, but they will not work in northern New Mexico because of differing geographical and cultural environments. Examples are legion. One that the author of this paper is well acquainted with is the problem of improving irrigation structures. Most village dams are simple mud and brush structures that wash away in every spring freshet. It would seem a simple matter to persuade some agency to help finance a series of small concrete village dams built by village labor. So far, this has proven impossible. In one argument with the Bureau of Reclamation representatives that lasted many hours, the writer of this paper was told: "Let us build you one big dam covering the entire irrigation system and we will do it right now. But we simply can't be bothered with a lot of small dams." They overlooked the fact that every large dam with its heavy cash charges upon irrigated land has resulted in massive loss of land by the Spanish Americans. One could go from one program to another. The rigidities of the programing, and the inability to introduce regional variations is one of the most important causes of government failure.

Another important factor in program failure is the narrow specialized approach of each government agency. No single agency has ever been able to take a look at the entire situation and to plan for the total environment. There is no mechanism for exchange of information and of ideas. Northern New Mexico badly needs a local council on which all government agencies are represented, but one

which none can dominate. The local council must be under the decentralized and flexible control of the local people. A major problem here is that in many Spanish American areas, it is extremely difficult to persuade the most capable Spanish American leaders to participate. They are afraid of being singled out from other village families and thus open themselves to village jealously and to the covert opposition of other village groups.

The most basic and fundamental underlying factor behind the failure of most government programs is that they deal with the symptoms of the problem and not with the causes. There has been no agency established to increase the land-holdings of the village, to buy up land that the village has lost and to return it to the village in such a manner that the land would not be lost again through inability to pay land tax. There is no agency that can build small roads from village to village. Large numbers of villages still are completely isolated through lack of roads. The transportation of goods and services is difficult. However, the more isolated the village, the more it is apt to have retained its land.

There have been few attempts to develop comprehensive soil maps, or mineral and timber surveys. No one knows what raw materials may be available for the construction of a balanced prosperous economy. Northern New Mexico has been almost completely neglected by mapping agencies. Furthermore, no attempt has been made to develop an acceptable legal mechanism for providing clear title. It is almost impossible to borrow money on land in the area, because of the complete confusion resulting from conflicts between American and Spanish American concepts of land use and of land ownership. This of course does provide considerable protection to Spanish American landholdings, so it is not completely an evil.

What is one to do about poor and inadequate schools based upon the premise that all Spanish American children are going on to college? In spite of the often heroic endeavors of dedicated teachers and school administrators, the school drop out rate in many areas is well over sixty percent. In New Mexico,

Spanish-speaking children are poured into an English-speaking first grade. Bilingualism thus becomes a terrible and tragic handicap rather than an advantage in a world growing steadily smaller. In Mexico, Indian children are first taught in their native languages before being exposed to Spanish. In the United States we begin in English and graduate children who are illiterate in two languages.

These are all problems that must be resolved before any sustained progress can be made in northern New Mexico. In addition, the following recommendations are made for planning in northern New Mexico. They are given here as tentative suggestions that should be tested by pilot programs and by additional research. First, as northern New Mexico is a distinct and well differentiated region, it should be placed under the jurisdiction of a regional authority. Second, the Spanish-American village must be made the basic unit for planning and research rather than the individual Spanish American farmer. Third, village leaders should be located and given training to assist their people to understand the strange and bewildering Anglo society. Fourth, programs should be designed for groups rather than individuals. The Spanish Americans usually work better in group than in individual activities. There is the pattern of the communal ownership of water resources to serve as a model. No persistent program has ever been evolved to establish village cooperates. It is the personal impression of the speaker that the cooperative movement offers one of the best techniques for the development of individual village initiative, the training of village leaders, the reduction of village factionalism, and for the improvement of land and water holdings.

Fifth, the formation of a program to buy up land as it comes on the local market and to restore it to the village, not to individual owners, under conditions that will enable the village to retain it. This is an absolute must, as the majority of villages do not have an adequate land basis. Sixth, the adoption by the State of New Mexico of a property tax exemption of all subsis-

tence farms under 15 acres to free the average Spanish American farmer from a harsh financial burden.

Seventh, the formation of a state or private handicraft board to foster Spanish American handicrafts, provide training in these skills for Spanish American children, and to develop local marketing outlets. Several Indian groups such as the Zuni and the Navajo have developed prosperous tribal handicraft programs with assistence from the Federal government. There is no reason why the same could not be done for the Spanish Americans. The handicraft traditions still survive in the remoter villages. In several villages, families have developed local handicrafts. The weaving industry of Chimayo is an example of what could be done.

Eighth, the construction of an adequate system of small village dams and irrigation systems. If the program were based upon the government supplying technical assistence and skilled labor with the villages providing unskilled labor and raw materials, the program would be a success. A small pilot state project of this nature proved quite successful. Such a program would leave no burden of cash charges against the land.

Ninth, the entire school system of northern New Mexico should be changed. A community school program such as the Scandinavian fŏlk schools should be adopted based upon the development of linguistic skills in both Spanish and English. It should be a school system that would teach upgraded vocational skills such as practical nursing and electronic technicians, as well as prepare children for college.

Tenth, Federal assistance should be provided to build a network of roads throughout northern New Mexico, connecting the villages with each other and with the main highways skirting the area. Access roads need to be built to recreational areas, to mineral deposits, and to large timber resources now going to waste.

Eleventh, The state of New Mexico should develop a state program of providing grading and auction services to the villages. At present, most of the

profit from the production of crops and natural products such as Christmas trees accrue to the Anglo buyer rather than the Spanish-American producer.

Twelfth. Agricultural experiment stations should be established in the region to search for crops that can be produced on small irrigated plots in areas with a relatively short growing season. The urban areas of Denver and Albuquerque could well provide a market for high value crops based upon intensive agriculture. A few villages on their own are beginning to experiment with new varities of chili, corn, and beans for the Spanish American urban market with some success.

Thirteenth, all private and government field workers and regional directors at work in northern New Mexico should be given courses in the basic history, culture, and problems of the Spanish American inhabitants. This is an absolute necessity for all men who are working with the Spanish Americans. It would eliminate a considerable number of personal agency failures in the region.

Fourteenth. Northern New Mexico should be used as a testing ground for ideas and projects by the Peace Corp or Point 4 program activities. As conditions here are almost as distressed, and local problems as stubborn of solution as those of any Latin American country, a social laboratory exists that could provide valuable training for government agencies active in Latin America.

In conclusion, New Mexico cannot flourish as a state unless northern New Mexico prospers. Northern New Mexico cannot progress unless the Spanish Americans are able to resolve the extremely complicated social and physical problems that face them. The Spanish Americans cannot resolve these problems by their own endeavors. They need sympathetic and soundly based assistance from other sectors of the nation. It is important that this assistance be given, because Mexico and other Spanish-speaking areas are often aware of the existence of the above mentioned conditions among the Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico and of the Southwest. The Spanish American could become a cultural bridge linking the English-speaking culture of the United States with the Spanish-speaking culture of Latin America. We could thus further pierce the tortilla curtain that separates the two cultural areas.